/78 cont./
412 kneeling woman exerts on them is accompanied by gentle rocking, which facilitates the grinding.

372 /79/ The Uro have no combustible material other than dried
[232] animal excrement and tola branches, which they go far to seek.
[224] These things are precious, and the Uro, like the Čipaya and the Aymara, are sparing in their use.

231 Near the huts a type of earth niche is sometimes erected which is rather similar to the huts around the village of Chipaya; these are pigstys.

226 Fishing. The Uro, in our age as in pre-Colombian times,
[262] draw their main subsistence from the lake. They are excellent
[439] fishers. The fish they catch is partly consumed by themselves and partly sold to the Aymara and to the half-breeds of the capital. I did not have the opportunity to be present on a real fishing expedition, only at several demonstrations made at my request. They first taught me the way in which they use the landing net shown in Fig. 23, 1 /see p. 9/. The wooden frame which holds the stretched-out net is fastened to the end of a pole. The Indian plunges this rectangular pocket into the water and remains standing or seated on his balsa until he sees an interesting prey. He begins by lifting his net delicately, then pulls it out of the water with a sudden motion.

227 There is another type of landing net which is much larger. It is composed of a circle from which wooden sticks joined at one end go out. This skeleton, conical in form, is covered with a net. Another net, as large as a hand, is stretched across the opening to make the escape of the fish even more difficult. This apparatus is often of considerable dimensions; some are more than three meters in diameter. They are always equipped with a handle by which they are held in the water and lifted up as soon as the fish have ventured in (Pl. III, B /see p. 23/).

The Uro Indians also possess bottom nets, which I regret not having seen employed. I have, however, acquired a perforated stone (Fig. 24, 2 /see p. 10/) which corresponds to our weights or ballast.

/83 cont./

231 Animal raising. They raise guinea pigs in their huts, which renders habitation there even more disagreeable. They have several flocks of sheep, pigs, and cows; those of the latter along the shores of the Desaguadero have become amphibious. They spend the entire day in the water and graze on water plants. From afar one would take them for buffalo in some Balkan swamp.

262 252 Cooking. The diet of the Uro is that of all the Indians of the altiplano: potatoes cooked in water, chuño (potato fecula), boiled or roasted meat, maize, broad beans, quinua, cañave, etc. The Uro add to this a dish of their own creation: the juicy pith of the totora. The edible part of this plant is the base of the stalk. It does not need to be prepared in any way.

252 [174] The Uro have preserved a method of cooking which is very old and whose distribution in South America, completely unusual, corresponds perhaps to a very archaic cradle of civilization: this is the subterranean oven, or Polynesian oven. "These ovens, which the Uro call vaxaña, consist of a hole dug in the earth whose depth, equal to the diameter, is about 60 centimeters. The rounded edge juts out at the level of the ground, and the entire interior is plastered with clay. The Uro light a fire inside and put in stones which are more or less flat. When the rocks are incandescent they are withdrawn, with the exception of those at the bottom. On top of them is laid a bed of fish, on which is placed a second bed of stones, then a second bed of fish, and so on until the oven is full. It is then closed with rocks which are covered with rushes. The fish thus cooks by stewing" (Palavecino).

251 They preserve fish by drying it on mats after having /84/ salted it. They do the same with the birds, whose flesh is cut up and exposed to the rays of the sun.

273 They make a beer called xawinskania from cañave seeds (Palavecino).

396 [439] Manufacture of balsas. The most important industrial activity of the Uro is the manufacture of rafts of totora, or balsas, to be provided with which partically all the shore-dwellers on the Titicaca come to them. As these small craft deteriorate rapidly,

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/117 cont./

312 puna, which are covered with sparse herbage. In some places
346 lagoons are formed which are propitious for growing water plants,
331 which serve as food for the pigs, as black and hairy as boars. The
137 Cipaya assert that 12 kinds of plants grow in their soil, the names of which they obligingly enumerate in prayers to their divinities. As I am not a botanist /118/ I could not verify the accuracy of this assertion. It nonetheless reveals a certain care for precision among the Cipaya, which is perhaps superfluous when one considers the scantiness of this flora which a little wetness causes to grow in the
132 midst of sand. In January and February the territory of Chipaya
133 has the appearance of a vast swamp. This monotonous and desolate
346 land is suddenly transfigured as if animated by the magic of the refraction of a supernatural life: a few small religious buildings plastered with white earth are transformed into sparkling mosques, the "water houses" and the enlarged and multiplied pigsties give birth to strange cities which line the edges of immense lakes in which bizarrely cut mountains are reflected. In the sky the clouds draw into strange formations and assume a luster elsewhere unknown. It is also the period of great storms. There are days when half the horizon is illuminated by the sun while the other, in the night, is ravaged by the tempest and furrowed by lightning.

133 Without these periodic inundations the territory of Chipaya would be only a sandy plain identical with those denuded expanses which separate it from the Coipasa salt marshes. Thus the existence of the Cipaya depends on the flooding of the Lauca River, which, practically dry in winter, carries a considerable amount of water in the summer. Sometimes it happens that the characteristic winter dryness is prolonged into the summer months, threatening to destroy, along with the wretched grassy vegetation
132 of the "canton," the flocks which feed upon it. This is the most
221 crucial time of the year, the one in which the fortunes of the tribe
796 are at stake. Hence it is not astonishing that all the great festivals of the Cipaya take place at this time and that all have the

2:Mémoires--46 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas-
Chipaya
Modern Quechua SE24
Inca SE13

/334 cont./

The word apu, which formerly signified "chief" and which consequently is synonymous with mal'ku and auki, is today used to designate demons or spirits.

The cones of earth, which are mal'ku par excellence, play a foremost role in the religious life of the Čipaya. The majority of the solemn festivals of these Indians are in their honor. When in a sacrifice the magician offers the victim's blood to the mal'ku, he never fails to sprinkle the four cardinal points with it while uttering the name of the mal'ku who live in each quarter of space.

The samiri. The worship of the samiri constitutes the most interesting aspect /335/ of the pagan religion of the Čipaya. The samiri are flat stones of calcareous origin with no set shape. Those of the saya tuanta are kept in a small cellar about 40 cm. deep and 60 cm. long, situated about ten kilometers from the village, in the area where the wretched pastures give way to the sands of the puna. The pit is housed on a knoll and carefully hidden under a yereta.

The samiri are supposed to protect the livestock, and in the prayers addressed to them a distinction is drawn between the samiri of the llamas, those of the pigs, and those of the sheep, and it is from them that the increase of these animals is awaited. The Čipaya also call samiri a stuffed lamb which they bury within the fold to watch over the flock. The word samiri is thus equivalent to konopa, a generic term which was used to designate the fetishes or amulets upon which the ancient Peruvians depended for the prosperity of their herds, their fields, or their houses (1).

1. On the konopa, the compilation of Jijón y Caamaño, La religión del Imperio de los Incas, pp. 99-103, and Latcham, Las creencias religiosas de los antiguos Peruanos, pp. 55-62, may be consulted.

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/357 cont./

alferez and his wife received in addition cheeses, eggs, and even some small silver coins which they placed in front of the sheaves along with two horns and some flutes. They then proceeded to the distribution of part of the straw, which the women passed between the twists of the braids on their temples. The men decorated their hats with it.

In the samiri's cellar (Fig. 35. A /see p. 78/) the Officiant placed four small bags of white paper tied with strings of red wool, which contained respectively the following items: in the first, lozenges and white, yellow, and pink candy destined for the Earth-mother to make her sweeter; in the second, cloves, pimento, cinnamon bark, pallios (a type of cinnamon), and maté leaves; in the third, olives, orange peel, Carob-tree pods (kʷoka), dried pieces of peach, guava, quince, and apple; and in the fourth, dark red, clear blue, and brown mineral powders (sevarios), each in a separate little paper bag, rosemary, starch, and lastly two white and pink candies. Next to the little bags he then placed two small plants stuck into a pellet of fat and a bunch of pinks. On the other hand he then took out a bottle which had /358/ been in the cellar, into which those present one by one came to pour the contents of a drinking cup of alcohol. At the same time as this offering they sprinkled several drops of alcohol on the samiri and pinches of coca into the cellar. This libation was ceaselessly accompanied with this prayer muttered in a low voice:

Haĉa	pakʷal'a	samiri	kulumayo	pakʷal'a	samiri	kon
large	livestock	"	pigs	livestock	"	with

usita	pakʷal'a	samiri	maitarapita.
sheep	livestock	"	give to me.

"Samiri of the large livestock (llamas), samiri of the pigs, samiri of the sheep, give to me."

Zimmeraux--90 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
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/364 cont./

They continued their orations, this time facing the alferez. They then walked around the gathering, greeting the men and the women and uttering a long string of wishes for each.

One of the hosts /?/, after long prayers and all sorts of gestures which were respectful in manner, carried one of the sheaves away. The other was given to the alferez, who kept it carefully in a corner of his hut.

/365/ Several guitarists then began to play, solely for the pleasure of the audience. At a given moment, a very shrill head voice, plaintive and unmodulated, burst from the group of women. Others soon accompanied it on the same notes. It was a song without words, slow and melodious, with numerous inflections: the notes, often very prolonged, were followed by the accompaniste. At moments when the song seemed to have died, it would break out again, taken up by other voices. This song, an approximate idea of which is given by the following notation, is emitted with the mouth shut. It undoubtedly serves as an incantation for, according to the musicians, it could be addressed to llamas, male and female, and to pigs. One probably also exists for the sheep.

2:566mnau--06 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF26 Ucn SF26

Cavenger-
Chipaya

/269 cont./

amounts of quinua, cañawa, chuño, and sugar with pendants, many of which were prefabricated and tied together with a string (Pl. XVI, F /see p. 137/). A scale of values seems to exist, so many potsherds giving the right to acquire a certain quantity of a given product. Small clay llamas may also be bought; they have a magical action on the prosperity of the flocks.

The festival of the Entewat, Kemperasi, and Cumbirasi mal'ku (February 8, 12, and 14).

To give an account in detail of the ceremonies performed in honor of the mal'ku would be equivalent to repeating the description of the festival of the samiri. The ritual practices observed, their order, and the attitude of the spectators are exactly the same as those which I have described in detail above. The only difference is that instead of being directed to the samiri, libations and sacrifices are intended for the sacred caves of earth. However, I was able to note several variants which I think are worth mentioning.

The festival of the Entewat-mal'ku (Pl. XIII, 9-D /see p. 134/) had some preliminaries which were absent from the worship of the other mal'ku. The alferez of this festival had a sheep killed the day before in the court in front of the church. Two hours later a superb white ram was slaughtered at his command below the wall of his hut. He had summoned Atacleto Mollo for this sacrifice.

In conformance with the ritual a sacred stick was planted to the east in front of the sheep, whose streaming blood was mixed with flour in a bowl, poured out at the four cardinal points, offered to the demons, and finally sprinkled on the inner wall of the alferez' hut. These sprinklings finished with a libation of alcohol of which the demons were again the beneficiaries.

The Officiant was then invited to help with the preparations for the festival, and he spent a good part of the evening making little bags of offerings and shaping from fat into which black and white meal had been kneaded, a llama, a sheep, and a pig, to which is added silver that has passed through

Indians--SFF E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SFDA Uru SFDA

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[377]

"Demon Kaxil'xaxil, wife of the demon, in the morning I have come to acquit myself with these three animals, on this day, the day of thy anniversary. I have come with the whole assembly to acquit ourselves on behalf of our herds and (our) health."

In conclusion I shall reproduce the prayer which is addressed to Mount Sajama and to the Lauca River when a specimen of each of the three kinds of animal which comprise the herds of the Chipaya is sacrificed to the latter:

Sajama-mal'ku	awisuru	·wmiksi's	Maria	L'auka	ni	
Sacred Sajama	shepherd	make feed	Mary	Laura	thou	
'ay	pasa'r's	swmiku	pawsi's	para	ampa	
three	heads of livestock	make feed	give	for	always	
swmiku.						
make feed.						

"Sacred Sajama (thou) the shepherd, make us able to feed. Mary Laura, (grant us) to feed these three kinds of animals. (Give us grass) to feed them."

Religious Practices at Sheep-shearing Time.

In the beginning of February the Indians of the saya tayata went away to shear their sheep. They came back from their "wool houses" with huge packs of llama and sheep wool which they piled up in their turn. This return was the occasion for a festival which chiefly consisted of offering libations of alcohol over the piles of wool and of offering coca and alcohol to the small earthen llamas (Pl. XVII, 9 *here* p. 138) lined up inside the hut on a table. A few llamas had been led to the village, and the Indians came from time to time to drop some coca leaves and drops of alcohol on their backs, while imploring the demons and saints to increase these animals, to protect them, and to make the grass on which they feed grow.

Baldwin--109 E-5 (1930-1937) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

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/777 cont./

Heated by the alcohol, some Indians danced distractedly across the village streets. These were the only manifestations which I observed during this festival.

Pagan-Christian Practices to Obtain Rain.

At the end of January, as the sky remained implacably blue, the Cipaya feared a drought and the destruction of their pastures. After general deliberation they decided to have recourse to public prayers. These were made by all the children, who were obliged to fast during the morning and were then sent in a procession to the church to /778/ circle the cross facing the court in front on their knees. The same ceremony took place before the small chapel, where steps the children ascended on their knees. A sheep was sacrificed on this occasion, and the four corners of the cross's stand were sprinkled with its blood. The meat /of the sheep/ was consumed solely by the children.

Carnival Festival.

Carnival for the Cipaya Indian is the festival par excellence beside which all the others are only pious duties. At Carnival /Figure 36 appears here/ /779/ although he observes some rites his aim above all is to drink and dance until he falls down dead drunk. If a few bloody scuffles with the people of the other ayllu are added to these amusements, his happiness is complete. Carnival is also the only season of activity for him, the only moment of the year in which his mind can rest with complacency and of which he thinks in terms of its usefulness and unconcern for the future. The prospect of being present at a festival which had been so much extolled was alone powerful enough to keep me in Chipaya behind the time I had set. I had, however, every reason to feel deceived, and the Cipaya themselves showed me their disappointment in a not very successful carnival. Good intentions were not lacking but the alcohol, the precious alcohol, and the no less precious cars. The crisis which elsewhere was laying up Latin American presidents was depriving the Cipaya of their outlets for the export of their cheeses and condemning them to celebrate Carnival by diluting their alcohol with water.

[Text continues on P. 110]

/386 cont./

778 vegetables, the knowledge and acquisition of which means the
796 most to the Čipaya. The green represents the fields, the brown
89 quinua seeds, the violet certain parts of quinua and cañave leaves.
[824]

With some mutton fat the yatiri modeled a lamb to whose neck he attached a tuft of wool. He put it in a bowl into which those present threw coca, and he offered libations to it and recited a long prayer where wishes for the prosperity of the flock were mingled with enumerations of the mal'ku and invocations to the Pačamama. Now taking pig fat the yatiri encrusted it with portions of gold leaf and stuck dried flowers in it. The choice of the flowers was as meticulous as that of the colored powders. When the slice of pig fat was covered with them, /387/ the wife of the master of the enclosure wrapped it with a tuft of red wool. The sheep made of fat, the flowers stuck in the pig fat, and the sacks of mineral powders were placed in a tin box and sprinkled with coca leaves. Among those present arose a real competition as to who would contribute the most coca leaves and recite his prayers with the most fervor. Then the bottle of eau-de-vie was uncorked, and all drank from it, beginning with the Officiant, without neglecting libations and the customary prayers before each bumper.

A few drops of alcohol were sprinkled on the offerings, to which the following things were added: llicta, candies, incense, khoa, copal, and sugar. The box was buried even with the ground and covered with a slab. The whole thing was carefully concealed under the ground, and the yatiri uttered a long prayer addressed, as previously, to the Pačamama and protecting demons on the site of the samiri. The ceremony ended, like all the Čipaya ceremonies, with mutual invitations to drink and chew.

23 Religious practices relating to putting domestic animals to
784 death.

When the Čipaya slaughter an animal in order to eat the meat, they perform a ritual which is in every respect analogous to the one which I have so often described in connection with sacrifices. The sheep or the pig receives an offering of coca and

/387 cont./

231 782 alcohol, and its blood is offered to the demons. The animal's head is placed on a table where it remains on display for several days. It is surrounded with bunches of flowers, and under the beast's snout a napkin covered with coca leaves and small dishes containing various substances, all invested with magical qualities, is placed. The residents of the hut, who have set up this altar, worship it in summary fashion, the principal manifestations of which are gestures of respect and offerings of coca and alcohol.

Divination.

787 824 Like the Aymara the Čipaya Indians practice divination on a large scale. I had one occasion to have the future predicted to me by the most highly reputed specialist of the tribe, Anacleto Mullu. The latter used only a napkin and a certain amount of coca provided by the client as accessories. He began with a short prayer murmured in a low voice, during which he carefully spread out his leaves, patting them with the palm of his hand. He brought his right hand to his mouth /388/ forming a horn and blew gently into it. Then, putting his hand gently back on the leaves, smoothing and caressing them, he repeated the question. After a short invocation he took hold of a handful of leaves which he turned with a quick movement. He separated the significant leaves from the pile to show them to me. From what I could ascertain, a leaf must be turned with its nervures on top, have the petiole behind, and the point of the limb toward the end of the fingers to be considered a good omen. The hand is always kept open, the fingers directed toward the consultant.

To be good the leaf also must not be covered by any other. The leaves which are clearly bad are those which are presented in an inverted position. The worst have their shiny side up and the petiole directed toward the consultant. The precision of the more or less categorical reply of the diviner depends on his general appraisal and on the proportion of good and bad leaves. Folded leaves are taken out and have no significance at all.

2:Métraux--132 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas-
Chipaya

Plate XI

782
291
[198]
[231]
[196]

A. — Indian kneeling before a mal'ku.

B. — Ritual slaughter of a sheep.

782
*196
[198]
[231]

C. — Ritual consecration of a llama: libation of alcohol and offering of coca.

D. — Ritual slaughter of a llama.

/159 cont./

Means of Subsistence

233 433 Stock raising. The Čipaya draw practically all their resources from stock raising. As I have already had the occasion of saying in 233 describing the environment /160/ where they live, the pastures which 311 cover their territory have been artificially created by diverting, by [312] means of arms from long canals, the waters of the Lauca River, which flows ten kilometers from the village. By means of dams they cause partial flooding, which sustains a short, tough grass in places on which the sheep feed and which elsewhere transforms the plain into marshes where the submerged grasses develop better than in open air. Other water grasses thrive there and they sometimes reach 50 231 cm. in height. All along these mires and lagoons rise small huts 343 shaped like ovens, similar although very small to the conical houses 311 of the second type (Fig. 1, B /see p. 142/). These are shelters that serve as a refuge for sows at littering time. During the rainy season vast expanses of plain are thus covered with water. The many wretched huts that border them which mirage enlarges and deforms often give the traveler the impression of circulating in the midst of a large lacustral city.

233 417 The entire zone of pastures is strewn with enclosures (uyu) in which the sheep are penned at night. The mothers are separated from the lambs because of the milking which takes place at dawn. I was always struck by the completely disproportionate number of these enclosures in comparison with the number of flocks. Without doubt the Čipaya build them anew each time that they leave a zone where the grass is exhausted to lead their sheep to graze in another region of their territory. These enclosures like the wretched huts are made of clods, and their opening is always toward the east.

342 [361] It is in this vast zone occupied sometimes by lagoons, sometimes by pastures, that the Čipaya have their "water houses" (kˇas-kˇoya), or estancias, (Pl. IV, A /see p. 213/) of which I have [592] already had occasion to speak. The estancias are usually occupied by the youngest members of the family and by the old people.

/160 cont./

233 Those who prefer to reside in the village go to them[1] at more or less close intervals to take a look at their sheep and pigs or to make their [891] cheeses. The watch over the flocks is usually entrusted to the children from the age of seven or eight. Their parents shift on them [842] the most engrossing work and from this obtain more leisure — from whence comes the ardent desire which all show to have numerous progeny.

[422] [231] Livestock is individual property. Each Indian has about 20 sheep (uša), an indefinite number of pigs (kuči), and several llamas (xwala). Each family recognizes its animals by a special mark cut in the ear.

[616] Each Indian has the right to let his flocks graze freely on /161/ the pastures belonging to his saya (moiety). No markers mark the boundary, but the Indians know it perfectly and every animal which crosses it is instantaneously slaughtered and eaten by the members of the other saya. In such a case no claim is allowed.

231 233 The shepherds have dogs /paku/, middling in size, with rather long hair and sharp teeth, to guard the flocks. These animals, which are very attached to their masters, can be formidable. I have seen one pursue a llama and kill it in the wink of an eye without its astounded owner having time to intervene.

236 233 [412] Sheep shearing (čipla) takes place at the same time for the whole tribe. The Indians use blades cut out of some old tin can for this operation. When they have finished a festival is organized and all return to the village, dancing and singing and quite tipsy.

233 262 Like all pastoral people the Čipaya are loath to consume the meat of their livestock. They consent to this sacrifice only on the occasion of a public or private festival when they may taste the meat of the animals ritually slaughtered. Only the rich can from time to time allow themselves the luxury of killing a beast of their [231] flock. Even in this case the slaughter of a sheep or pig is accompanied by a certain religious ceremony.

[1] [i.e., to their "water houses" or estancias -- Analyst]

/161 cont./

233 The llamas and alpacas usually gather beyond the zone scoured by the herds of sheep, out where the ever poorer pastures are gradually lost in the arid puna (Pl. II, A /see p. 211/). The young llamas are the object of maternal care: they are placed under blankets if a cold night is expected and if necessary are fed milk with a funnel. One of my Indian friends stayed a whole day watching a llama whose young did not want to nurse.

231 It is rather strange that the Čipaya do not raise guinea pigs, as practically all the Indians of the Sierra do. It is true that the Aymara of Carangas no longer have any, for reasons which I do not [235] know. The number of hens in Chipaya is not as great as in most of [262] the villages of the puna. I do not know what they do with them because I never noticed them eating the eggs or the meat. If some few cats are added one will have the complete list of the domestic animals that the Čipaya have.

241 Agriculture. To the meager income which their flocks bring [433] them the Čipaya add a very limited and primitive agriculture. They cultivate hardly anything but quinua (Chenopodium quinua) (in Uro-Čipaya: kxula) and cañagua (Chenopodium cañahua).

The cultivated plots (skxāla), which are common to the whole tribe and not only to each of the saya, are situated to the southeast of the village /162/ and to the east of the flooded region called the lakes. Their area is about 300 meters wide and one kilometer long. This very sandy land, perfectly flat and not very wet, is divided across its width into a succession of parallel strips marked out by three series of raised clods of earth serving as boundaries. Each of these strips, which are oriented east-west, is about ten meters wide and 300 meters long.

[433] Each year on Saint Andrew's Day (November 30), these plots are divided among the families, one strip to a family, by the care and under the responsibility of the alcaldes. If what they say is accurate, the Čipaya practice crop rotation.

[412] The agricultural methods are most primitive. To till the soil the Indians formerly used small hoes with bent handles, a specimen

2:Métraux--210 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya / Carangas

Plate I

142
291

A. Young Čipaya girl

B. Čipaya couple in Sunday best.

[312]
←

• [231]
→

C. Čipaya woman come to draw water from a canal and fleeing under a storm.

D. Little Indian girl holding a piglet.

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

They do little hunting of land animals, but they may lasso the head male of a herd of vicuña which has been driven from the heights by the cold of winter, then club the remainder of the herd.

Herding.—The *Uru* have a few livestock—sheep, cows, and occasional llamas—but these are restricted in number by the scant pasture on the mainland. The cattle are usually half-wild and forage in the swamps, eating the succulent reed stalks and roots. The *Uru* have dogs, guinea pigs, chickens, and pigs; the last are kept in mud sties or allowed to wander through the village.

Farming.—Maize will not grow in this infertile and cold region, which is more than 12,000 feet (3,600 m.) above sea level; but a few bitter potatoes and some quinoa are cultivated.

Food preparation.—The few potatoes cultivated are frozen and dried to make chuñu. Women grind quinoa with a long, flat, stone muller on a stone metate which slants outward from their laps, then toast it to make a nourishing powder (pitu). The succulent white root of the totora reed is eaten raw. Shrimplike crustaceans from the river are toasted.

Beer is made of quinoa and, when they can get it, of maize, which they chew into chicha.

Like all the altiplano peoples, the *Uru* chew coca.

HOUSES

Most *Uru* houses have an oval ground plan, but some are rectangular. The walls are built of rectangular turf blocks laid in horizontal courses, much as the ancient chullpas, or grave-houses, the outer wall often plastered with adobe. The entrance always faces east and is closed at night by a thick door made of bunches of totora reeds placed vertically and joined together at intervals by double horizontal cords in twined technique. The roof framework is of sticks or of reed bundles; the main ridge of the roof arches east and west, with stick or reed-bundle purlins resting on this ridge and the side walls. This framework is covered with reed mats (pl. 113, *top, left*)—single totora stalks twined at intervals with grass cord. Grass ropes are laid over the mats and tied to pegs in the outside wall. The fire in the mud stove to the right inside the door speedily coats the roof with soot and makes it waterproof. Greasebrush (tola), chunks of a woody semi-subterranean plant (yareta), and llama dung—in the absence of wood in this treeless region—serve as fuel. Some smaller *Uru* shelters have a corbeled turf dome instead of a frame with mat thatching. The Sojopaca *Uru* build temporary shelters of mud, "like beavers," similar to the domed houses of the islet of Simillaque. On the Isle of Panza there are round, stone-roofed houses.

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

the *Aymara*, the *Uru* distinguish siblings terminologically according to age.

Marriage is now solemnized, if at all, with a Catholic ritual led by a priest who yearly visits the village. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married while standing back to back in the water of the lake. Postmarital residence is patrilocal. Although Polo (1901) states that the *Uru* were formerly endogamous, a shortage of women during recent years has led men to take *Aymara* wives.

If the *Uru* ever had a tribal chieftain, he has long since been forgotten. Today, they have the typical altiplano native hilakata, or alcalde, appointed or elected yearly. Squabbles with *Aymara* neighbors are led by this official.

RELIGION

The *Uru* worship Pachamama, the earth goddess, and perhaps also a place-deity of the swamp, although they are nominally Catholic and have a small mud church in their village. Like the *Aymara*, they believe in dream interpretation, in meteorological signs, and in taking omens. Their sacrifices of alcohol, coca leaves, and animals to their deities are very like those of the *Aymara*. Bertonio (1879 b), however, lists several ancient *Uru* dances which have disappeared since the 17th century: the huchhu or sisa quirkitha, and the chiy-chiy, in which bags are held in the hand.

The main *Uru* fiesta is at the vernal equinox, but has been changed from the 23d to the 14th of September to coincide with the Christian feast of the Exaltation. On this date, they blow panpipes (siku), sing and dance the mimule, and perform the ancient rite of blood-sacrifice (wilancha) by slaughtering a llama and smearing the blood near the entrance of each hut. Most of the *Uru* beliefs and ceremonies are clearly from the *Aymara*.

Most *Uru-Chipaya* folklore is similarly of the common *Aymara* stock of animal tricksters.

THE CHIPAYA

The *Chipaya* of Carangas (Bolivia) are linguistically identical with the *Uru* of the Río Desaguadero but differ somewhat from them in culture, though retaining in common certain ancient features. Whereas the *Uru* are chiefly a fishing and hunting people, the *Chipaya* are chiefly pastoral and practice a little agriculture.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The *Chipaya*, like many pastoral peoples, dislike to kill their animals, and they eat llama flesh only when these are ritually slaughtered at public fiestas or important private rites. Curiously, the *Chipaya* do

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Chipaya

not raise guinea pigs, as do most of the altiplano tribes, and have only a few chickens. Their primitive agriculture is limited to the cultivation of a little quinoa on the tribally owned lands which are distributed yearly by the mayor to families at the fiesta of San Andrés (November 30). Their principal industry and chief source of wealth is cheese made of sheep milk. The *Chipaya* eat a number of wild tubers and occasionally hunt vicuñas and small rodents.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

About 1930 there were some 350 *Chipaya* in Carangas, which was physically divided into nonexogamous moieties, called "East" and "West," each with its own mayor. The moieties form rival and very antagonistic groups. They fight each other on occasion and kill each other's pigs and sheep for trespassing. The *Chipaya* kinship system, like that of the *Uru*, is much influenced by the *Aymara*. Descent is patrilineal, and residence patrilocal for a year or until the birth of the first child or two. All *Chipaya*, without exception, are bilingual and speak *Aymara* fluently; indeed, ordinarily they speak *Uru* only among themselves at home.

Their music and folklore are entirely *Aymarized*.

RELIGION

The religion of the *Chipaya* does not differ from that of the *Aymara* of the same region. Some rites, however, may have been better preserved among the *Chipaya* than in communities more open to outside influences.

Chipaya religion is a blend of pagan and Christian beliefs and practices, with a strong predominance of the former.

The main *Chipaya* deities, to whom they render a public cult, are the Saints (San Felipe, Jerónimo, and Santa Ana, the protector of the village), the Earth Mother, Pachamama, who is often confused with the Virgin Mary, a host of spirits (maλku) with little individuality (Chunkirini-maλku, Kemperani-maλku, Estewan-maλku), the mountains seen from the village (among them, Nevada de Sajama), the Llauca River, and the tower of the church (Torre-maλku). The samiri are sacred stone fetishes on which the prosperity of the village hinges.

Family houses are protected by a spirit (patio-maλku), represented by stuffed spotted cats or hawks, which are worshiped only by the members of the household.

Public cults.—The most important *Chipaya* deity is Pachamama, or Earth Mother. She is not worshiped on a special date, like the maλkus and saints, but is associated with every *Chipaya* ceremony, public or private. She is invoked in most prayers and is offered coca, libations of chicha, and grease balls decorated with plants and silver

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Chipaya

ficed to the house spirits, and a cup of blood is presented with all kinds of offerings and decorations to the stuffed cat, which is kept in a corner.

The herds of each family are protected by a special samiri—a stuffed sheep buried ritually in a corral together with offerings of blood, herbs, and coca, and with a box containing images of sheep made of grease, mineral powders, flowers, sweets, and several other magical substances.

Whenever an animal is slaughtered for food, a short ceremony takes place with offerings of coca and chicha. The head is placed on an improvised altar decorated with flowers, on which they also place coca and the cupulae with the sacred mixture. The natives salute the head, offer it coca, and pour a few drops of chicha or alcohol in its honor.

After shearing the llamas and sheep, the *Chipaya* make libations on the wool and offer coca and chicha to small clay images of sheep and llamas. These images are also deposited on Christmas Eve on the church's main altar.

Shamanism.—Certain diseases attributed to supernatural causes are treated by the yatiri. He makes the usual libations and offerings, and kills a sheep by pulling out its heart, which is placed on the ailing region of the patient's body.

Divination is practiced by the examination of a bunch of coca leaves.

FOLKLORE

Chipaya folklore is essentially the same as that of the *Aymara*. The tales collected by Métraux (1935 c, pp. 395–415) deal with the misfortunes of Fox, the trickster, who is fooled by Condor and Duck. The motifs of the magic pregnancy and of the miraculous recognition of the unknown father which form part of the myth of Coniraya, recorded by Francisco Davila, in Huarochiri, occur also in a *Chipaya* tale. Other elements of the same tale show close relationship with *Chiriguano* folklore. The *Chipaya* represent themselves as the last survivors of the chullpa people who have been exterminated by the Sun, an obvious survival of the myth of the destruction of mankind as told in the ancient Andean mythology.

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Bertonio, 1879 b; Brinton, 1890; Chamberlain, 1910; Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, 1925–27; Ehrenreich, 1905; Forbes, 1870; La Barre, 1941; La Grasserie, 1894; Latcham, 1910; Métraux, 1934 c, 1935 b, 1935 c, 1936 a, 1936 b, 1936 c; Ore, 1607; Polo, 1901; Posnansky, 1934; Rivet, 1925–27; Uhle, 1896; Vázques de Espinosa, 1942.

tains; and the tower of the village Catholic church, which is regarded as a particularly powerful fetish and is known as *Mallcu Mayor*. The other *mallcus* are represented by small conical sod towers scattered around the countryside. Sacred stone fetishes or *samiri* protect the prosperity of the village; in the homes, a stuffed wildcat or hawk serves as a protective household spirit. When a new house is built, a sheep is sacrificed and its blood is sprinkled on the roof and walls.

One of the principal fiestas comes on New Year's Eve. At Carnival time, an important fertility rite is celebrated; cheeses and other foods—symbolic of the desired abundance—decorate the church tower and the dancers.

The high point of the ceremonies in honor of the deities is the sacrifice of the three main animals on which the Chipayas depend: a llama, a sheep, and a pig. These will be eaten at a communal feast the next day. The officiating *yatiri*, or priest, offers the blood, mixed with flour, to the four directions, and pours it on the *mallcu* cones and the *samiri* stones. The prayers always express the longing for fertility, for water, and for the increase of the herds. Alcoholic libations are offered, and much alcohol is consumed at the major festivals. The usual monotony of daily life is forgotten. Dancing goes on far into the night, as the slow, mournful music of the flutes and drums dispells for a while the grim, cold silence of this empty land.

[P. 22-C]

There were some withered Palm-Sunday decorations made from the rushes which border the river. They were plaited and twisted and fringed and hung on rusty nails. The door stood partially open. A low adobe-wall surrounded the building. There were no tombs in evidence. A family of donkeys had taken up their residence there. We gave them some biscuit and apple, and they followed us down the stony path to where the village was assembled. The cameras were ticking, and our chauffeur Carlos had been promoted to stagehand with a wooden clapper. Our star was continuing her role with renewed enthusiasm; leaning against the wall were two boys 11 or 12 years old, one had beautiful smooth regular features. I photographed him, but he never moved, nor seemed conscious of our presence. We left him standing motionless and followed the younger one down to the river where a man was plaiting rushes, preparatory to making a balsa.

Some fifteen years ago the whole region suffered from a severe draught. The waterlevel of the lake descended from twelve to fifteen feet and many of the marshes dried out, and the reeds, the *totora*, withered and disappeared. These totoras play as important a part among the Uru as the llama among the Aymara or Quechua on the Altiplano. While the stems are used for making balsas, sails and ropes, the roots or *kzouras* are the staple diet of the Uru, who also use it to brew a kind of beer, allowing the tubercles to ferment.

Fortunately in these last few years the climatic conditions have once more returned to normal, and with the rise of the lake the totoras have once more increased. These rafts, with their tall pointed bows, have the gracefulness of a gondola. They are composed of three cylinders, two forming the sides and one the centre. The rushes are plaited into long braids, the end being held between the man's toes. These braids are then plaited together and together again, and all these ropes are assembled, moistened and laced together. Two men work simultaneously,

[p. 313-A]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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Another house type, beyond the rectangular-thatched and round-matted forms, is that to be found in several examples on the plain just to the north of Ancoaqui. These have a rectangular ground-plan, and instead of being thatched with grass or *totora*-mats, have a pyramidal "dome" corbelled of the same turfs that the walls are made. One of these photographed was on a slight artificial elevation, and had a shallow "moat" around it, possibly to provide dryness and drainage during the long rainy season. Another has two doors, both east and south, suggesting that shepherds might watch their llamas from these tiny huts, which are too small for family habitation; one of them has a chimney-hole in the roof.

Posnansky[19] says the Uru of Sojopaca built temporary shelters, apparently of mud, "like beavers," and figures a carefully domed *putuku* on the islet of Simillaque, as well as a round, stone-roofed house on the Isle of Panza. Uru round houses at Ancoaqui have vertical walls, but some of those of the Chipaya (Posnansky, Figs. 39 and 56) are battened inward, like truncated domes. On islands in the Desaguadero swamps I noticed temporary shelters of *totora* shaped like an old-fashioned straw beehive with a point, erected to shelter the *balsa*-builders.

Food. The Uru have repeatedly been referred to as being chiefly fishermen, but fish are by no means exclusively their diet. Their linguistic congeners to the south, the Chipaya, are chiefly pastoral, and the Uru likewise have pigs, donkeys, some few chickens, sheep, and cows, but no llamas or alpacas. Of the cows Métraux writes:

> those on the border of the Desaguadero [have] become amphibian. They pass the whole day in the water browsing on aquatic plants. From a distance one would take them for buffalo in some Balkan marsh.

These half-wild creatures are so "pastured" because of the acute lack of land among the Uru, whose agriculture,[20] for the same reason, is thus greatly circumscribed. The Uru have dogs, which they call *paku*. Like the Aymára, and most *altiplano* Indians, the Uru keep domesticated guinea-pigs in their houses. Pigs wander about the village also, but are sometimes placed in

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Ethnography of South America seen from the Mojos of Bolivia (Comparative Ethnographic Studies 3, Göteberg, 1924), p. 19; see also Bernabé Cobo, *Relaciones geográficas de Indias*, Vol. 2: p. 62; Huaman Poma de Ayala, in Montell, *Dress and Ornaments*, p. 188, Fig. 86 (in Métraux *loc. cit.*).

[19] Posnansky, *op. cit.*, pp. 69, 108 and Figures 104, 111.

[20] George McCutchen McBride, *The Agrarian Indian Communities of Highland Bolivia* (American Geographic Society, Research Series 5, New York, 1921), p. 18, says the Uru "form the rare example of a highland Indian tribe which is not markedly attached to the soil, in contrast to the agricultural people that surround them."

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earthen sties, or mud-and-stone conical huts. I observed no cats at Ancoaqui, though they occur in Aymára villages a day's journey hence.

Agriculture is unimportant among the Uru, although they cultivate *kañawa* (or "quinoa," Uru *kula*, a millet-like grain) from which they make a toasted ground powder they call *pitu*. It is pleasant tasting and is very concentrated and nourishing. They also cultivate a small amount of "papas amargas" or small, bitter potatoes from which they make *čuñu* (Uru *ounî*). The succulent white roots of the *totora* reed (*suļu*, *ḳawri*, or *kuima*) are commonly eaten raw by the Uru. These vegetable products they augment in their trading of fish to the Aymára.

Kañawa is ground on a stone slanting outward from the woman's lap with a flat stone bar, whence the ground grain collects in a cloth at the far, lower end. The Uru make a beer they call *likļa* or *likļi*, or *zawinskawia* according to Palevecino. Posnansky (page 102) says they sometimes make *chicha* of masticated maize also; *likļi* is made from a plant called *kiawi* or *kiwi*, which he supposes is aquatic. This same author considers the Uru somewhat more abstemious of alcohol than the Aymára but this is probably less a result of inclination than extreme poverty. This Bolivian student notes also as a food of the Uru "camaroncitos [?shrimp] transparentes" (Uru *koykoya*), Amphipods of the group *Hyalella pallida*, *H. robusta*, etc. from two to ten millimeters long, which live in the *totora* roots. Toasted, these are a rich, nutritious food in times of scarcity, as well as an "estimulante sexual." The Uru chew *coca*, of course, as do all Andean natives, trading their fish for it with the "cholo" or halfbreed tradesmen who bring the narcotic leaf from the *yungas* or deep semi-tropical valleys of the Departamentos of La Paz and Cochabamba.

Fishing is the basis of Uru economy, however, as it appears to have been throughout the period of European knowledge of them. Fishing by moonlight I was told is preferred as the best time. Fish fences, *kenļa*, of *totora*-bundles stuck in the soft mud of the river bottom were observed several times in the Desaguadero. They are of the same type that is used in the swampy shallows of southern Lake Titicaca. Palavecino thus describes their construction:

> Each of these [bundles] is made of five or six reeds placed in the same direction and attached by the upper thinner part. They carry these bundles in their *balsas* to the place which appears to them best for fishing and there build their weir. To drive the bundles of *totora* into the mud they use the gaff (*okena*) with which they push their boats. [This is a stout pole with a stubby tripod at the base, so that it will catch on roots and water plants and not sink into the soft mud when the boat is poled along (W.Lab.)] The bundle is placed against the gaff, the end of which rests on the liga-